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confined to cases where their functions are chiefly of a deliberative character. This movement seems to have been but part and parcel of the democratic movement which swept over state and national politics about the middle of the century, and apparently left its impress in Chicago, as elsewhere, in the large number of elective offices created.

To the present organization of the city government about two-thirds of the monograph is devoted. Although the actual administration does not seem to be superior to that of other cities in form, the charter of Chicago presents more nearly than that of any other American city the proper scheme of government.

Unfortunately, Dr. Sparling's monograph contains such an exceedingly large number of errors in grammar and orthography as to impair its value. He also fails to show the relation between cause and effect, and traces inefficiency to defects in the form of government, without considering other factors. For instance, in speaking of the excellent park system, Dr. Sparling declares: "The result has been a splendid tribute to the board type of organization for this particular phase of local administration" (p. 150). Perhaps the board system is suited to this field of municipal activity, but mention should be made principally of the lack of favoritism in actual administration, which is due to public opinion and the *esprit du corps* which pervades every department. Remove these factors, which do not owe their existence to the board system, and the Chicago parks will be no better cared for than are the streets. All in all, the monograph by Dr. Sparling is a fairly creditable piece of work.

NEW YORK CITY.

MILO ROY MALTBY.

The History of English Democratic Ideas in the Seventeenth Century. By G. P. GOOCH. Cambridge, The University Press, 1898. — 363 pp.

This essay received the Thirlwall Prize at Cambridge in 1897, has been revised and expanded by the author, and now appears as the tenth volume of the *Cambridge Historical Essays*. As the preceding number of this series discussed the doctrine of the divine right of kings, Mr. Gooch restricts himself to the consideration of democratic ideas. Their development he carefully traces, on the one hand, through the movements of the various political groups or parties and, on the other, through the political writings causing or caused by the political changes.

By a brief consideration of the political significance of the Refor-

mation and a review of the resulting theory the author's introduction leads up to his main topic. Chapter I is given up to the growth of democracy in England before the seventeenth century, and the second chapter to English democratic thought down to 1640. The greater part of the essay is, however, taken up by the treatment of the period from 1640 to 1660. Not less than two-thirds of the book is devoted to these two decades — a policy that is fully justified by the "nature and quality of the ideas which then made their appearance."

In these twenty years Mr. Gooch has, in fact, a field so extensive and so diversified as to make it impossible for him to do more than sketch in scanty outline its most striking features; but he uses his space well and sets forth quite clearly the ideas of the various groups that participated in the democratic movement. The genesis of republicanism, the opinions of the army, the establishment of the commonwealth, the theory of the oligarchy and the theory hostile thereto, constitute the principal points in the discussion. Considerable attention is given to the relation between the religious and the political ideas and development of the time. The various religious bodies — Presbyterians, Independents, Baptists, Quakers, Millenarians and Antinomians — are examined, their theories are analyzed and their influence is weighed. The extremist doctrines of the time are also accorded some notice; the radical Levellers, the Communists and even the Diggers find a place. Mr. Gooch has not stated his conception of democracy and his understanding of the term "democratic ideas"; but if we are to impute to democracy such notions as those of the Diggers and of the radical Quakers and the Antinomians, we shall be forced to hold it responsible for a rather unruly family. From one point of view, these theories are no more democratic than aristocratic or monarchic. They are not theories of government at all; but rather theories of unrestrained individualism or, in a word, of anarchy. For the appearance of these ideas democratic theory was responsible only so far as it fostered the spirit of revolution and broke those bonds of established authority which cannot be destroyed without throwing some minds out of equilibrium.

Mr. Gooch gives especial attention to Selden, Milton, Ireton, Cromwell and Harrington, whose political ideas are discussed as fully as the limits of the work will allow. The author alludes to Milton's distrust of the masses of the people and declares that "the voice of the people was as far from sounding to Milton like the voice of God as to Metternich." Strong emphasis is laid upon Harrington's *Oceana*,

because of the practical character of the work and the employment of the historical method. Mr. Gooch maintains that, in respect to the method pursued, *Oceana* ranks with Machiavelli's *Discorsi* and Bodin's *République*. To the period from 1660 to the close of the century but one chapter is allotted, and the theories current during these forty years receive but scanty treatment. Even Locke's work is dismissed with a three-page outline.

Generous notice is accorded to the course of democratic theory in America, in its relation to the English development. Sometimes, however, the author is more appreciative than accurate. For example, the government of Plymouth did not rest upon the suffrage of "all male inhabitants of full age" (p. 77), but was vested in the freemen of the company. Roger Williams can hardly be accused of inconsistency in securing a patent from England, after having denied the validity of the Massachusetts Bay patent, since he had already purchased his land from the Indians. The work of John Adams, to which reference is made on page 356, was not a "Defence of the Constitution of the United States": it was entitled *Defence of the Constitutions of Government of the United States*.

On the whole, Mr. Gooch's work will be welcomed by those interested in the development of political theory. He has taken great pains to place in the clearest light the widely divergent tendencies of the seventeenth century; and he has given us something more than a review of the political literature of the time, for he has illuminated his study of democratic theory by the consideration of the historical facts that conditioned the theory. The essay is suggestive and stimulating, and its value is increased by references that facilitate further and more minute investigation of the topics treated.

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